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THE UNION OF BUCOVINA
WITH RUMANIA

EDITIONS «BUCOVINA» — I. E. TOROUȚIU
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I. BUCOVINA AS A PART OF MOLDAVIA

The national territory of Rumania has been successively completed by the fusion of the principalities Muntenia and Moldavia (1819), by the reoccupation of Dobrogea (1878) and the Quadrilater (1913). By the reoccupation of Dobrogea and the Quadrilater Rumania has reopened her old way to the Black Sea, while by the union of the sister-provinces, Bessarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania, she has regained her old ethnical and historical frontiers on the Nistru and the Tisa. These ancient frontiers enclose the classical soil of *Dacia Traiana*, where the Rumanian people were conceived through the grafting of the latin language and civilization upon the ethnical *Geto-Dacian* trunk. Upon this vast territory, furrowed by the chain of the Carpathian mountains, the Rumanian tribes and the Rumanian race have survived the barbarian invasions, up to the time when more favourable circumstances allowed them to crystallize into wider political organizations, creating thus national states like the principalities Muntenia and Moldavia.

The principality of Moldavia was founded about the middle of the XIV-th century by the dynasty of the Bogdans, who rode from the Maramureş, joining under their

standard, which wore as emblem the head of an aurochs, the numerous «cnezates» or Rumanian districts from the valley of the rivers: Prut, Siret, Suceava, Moldova, Bistrița and Putna. The principal highway of the occupation led through the valley of the Moldova, a tributary of the Siret, and accordingly the new state organization was also called the *Principality or Voevodate of Moldavia*. The residence of the new principality has wavered at first between Baia on the river Moldova, and Siret, on the river bearing the same name, until it settled for over 200 years in the city of *Suceava*, called after the river Suceava which flows into the Siret and, together with this last, into the Danube. Only about the year 1600 the residence of the principality of Moldavia was moved to Iassy, so as to be nearer the Danube.

The final Western frontier of Moldavia was established at Ceremuș and Colacin, by the inclusion into the territory of the new principality of *Țara Șipenițului* (Terra Sepe-*nicensis*), while the Northern and Eastern frontier was settled on the Nistru; this frontier line which was drawn in olden times may be seen on any of the oldest maps of Moldavia. It was recognized by Austria in 1772, when Galitzia was annexed to the Habsburg Empire.

II. BUCOVINA AS AND AUSTRIAN PROVINCE

Hardly two years passed since this recognition and settling of the frontiers, when, in the midst of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768—1774, the Austrian army occupied the provinces Cernăuți and Suceava in Moldavia, pretending that they absolutely need a connecting road between

Galitzia and Transylvania. Prince Grigore Ghika protested in vain against this serious trespass of the frontier, asking the Ottoman Empire to defend the integrity of the Moldavian territory to which Turkey had obliged itself by the old capitulations which had been signed between the Sovereign State of Turkey and its vassal, Moldavia. Prince Ghika showed, in the protests and maps sent to Constantinople and St. Petersburg, that Austria, on the excuse of an imaginary epidemic of the plague, had entered Moldavia with armed troops and drew up in a sanitary belt from the Nistru to the *Bistrița Aurie*, enclosing a territory of 10.441 kms., with the citadel of Suceava, the old capital of Moldavia, containing the tombs of the princes of Rădăuți, Putna and Suceava, as well as the most remarkable monuments of art from the glorious periods of the country of Moldavia. But, to the desperate protests of Prince Ghika, Austria only replied with rich presents offered to the Turkish dignitaries and the Russian commanders, thus obtaining the consent of Turkey for the scission of the occupied territory in Moldavia. The convention for this scission was signed on July 1, 1776, at Balamutca, and was ratified afterwards by the peace treaty of Şiştov in 1791. By the documents which fixed the boundaries at Balamutca upon the Nistru, Austria won a territory of 10.441 kms. from upper Moldavia, including 5 market-towns and 352 villages and hamlets with a population of 71.750 inhabitants.

At first the Austrian government called the new territory *Austrian Moldavia*, to distinguish it from *Turkish Moldavia*, that is under Turkish suzerainty. Soon after though, this territory torn from the body of Moldavia

received the name of *Bucovina*, so as to mask the annexation before the eyes of European diplomacy. This name was borrowed from the beech-forests (*sylvae faginales*) called « *bucovina* » from the slavonic *buk*, and German *Buche*, which covered, in the remote past, the hilly regions situated between the Prut and Nistru, up to Hotin.

The new territorial acquisition, torn from the Moldavian soil, remained under military rule up to 1786, when it was added to Galitzia as a separate administrative circle, *cercul bucovinean*, headed by a captain (Kreishauptmann). During all this time, the Rumanian population of this bucovinian circle showed its discontent with this inclusion into Galitzia, on account of the deep differences of *language* and *faith* existing between the Rumanian population of Bucovina and the Polish Ukrainian people of Galitzia. They continually asked, through memorandums and delegates sent to Vienna, for the separation of Bucovina from Galitzia and its organization into an autonomous province of the Crown (Kronland). Following the revolution of 1848 Austria received a constitution, by which Bucovina was declared an autonomous province, holding the rank of a *duchy*. The emperor of Austria added to his old historical titles a'so that of *Duke* or *Voevod* of *Bucovina*, this province receiving then also its own armories with the legendary aurochs-head added to the ancient armories of Moldavia. Bucovina completed its autonomous organization in 1862, by the election of a provincial assembly called *dieta* (Landtag), with a marshal at its head. Bucovina was represented in the Vienna Parliament by 14 representatives.

III. THE GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION OF BUCOVINA

The orographic and hydrografic structure of Bucovina does not show in itself a geographical unity, but appears as a natural continuation of the Moldavian mountains and hills, up to the turning of the river Tibău which flows into the Bistrița Aurie and up to the brook Părcălab, which joins its waters to the Ceremuș.

In the deep and inaccessible valleys of these two rivers, the Moldavian branch of the Carpathians crosses the chain of the forest covered Carpathians from Pocutzia and Poland.

A straight line from Vignitza on the Ceremuș river to the Gura-Humorului on the waters of the Moldavia, divides the Bucovinian territory into two almost equal parts: one to the South-West is mountainous and the other hilly, in the North-East. The *mountainous region* reaches its highest point in the massive of Giumalău (1859 m.) and that of the Rarău with the peak Pietrele Doamnei (1648 m.), both situated between the valley of the Bistrița and that of the Moldavia. On the Northem slope of the Tomnatecul is the source of the Siret, the principal river of Moldavia, which, having a gigantic collecting-pool, receives the waters of its tributaries *Suceava*, *Moldova* and *Bistrița* pouring them into the Danube between the cities Brăila and Galatzi. Suceava as well as the Moldova have their source in the Bucovina mountains whereas the *Bistrița Aurie* issued from the massive of the Inău (2350 m.) which guard the triple confines of Bucovina, Transylvania and Maramureș.

The rivers of Bucovina open their wide valleys towards Moldavia, so as to make easier its traffic with the mother-country, that continued its evolution for centuries along their course. The river *Prut*, which crosses Bucovina from Orășeni to Seliște, opens its course towards Iassy and Galatzi, where it flows into the Danube. The river *Nistru* forms the frontier towards Poland, from Băbeni to Onut, whereas from here it winds around Besarabia, forming the frontier towards Russia up to Ceta-tea Albă, where it flows into the haven with the same name. All the rivers of Bucovina are navigable.

The *climate* of Bucovina is temperate, with abundant rain and rare intervals of drought. The highest temperature in Summer reaches $+ 35^{\circ}$ C., while the lowest, in Winter descends to 30° — C.

The *vegetation* is rich and varied. The fertile surfaces comprise 94,3%, the unproductive ones only 5,7%. The forests cover an area of 43,1%, the fields 30,2%, the meadows and pasture-land 20,9% and the gardens cover 0,1% of the whole area of Bucovina which is of 1.000.000 hectares. The leafy vegetation grows up to an altitude of 700 m. From 700 to 1.500 m. upwards, the hills and mountains are covered with forests of fir-trees and pine, as to the bare places in the mountains from 1500 m. upwards, they are used for hay-making and alpine pastures.

The *sub-soil* of the hilly and mountainous regions bears rich ore of salt (Cacica) and manganese (at Iacobeni and Dorna) as well as rich mineral sources, especially alkaline (Dorna) and sulphurous ones (Iacobeni).

In the hilly regions there are beautiful massives of oak, birch, maple, but especially beech-trees, from which

the province takes its name of Bucovina as we have shown above. Thanks to this abundance of forests the timber industry could develop in Bucovina, supplying thus a paying occupation for the mountain inhabitants.

The plains and hills are reserved for agriculture. There is the culture of maize and potatoes, but also cereals like wheat, rye, barley and oats as well as fodder-plants. Lately we introduced into Bucovina, with great success, the culture of sugar beet.

The breeding of cattle is made easy by the extensive alpine pastures which spread all over the wide valleys, enlivened by the murmur of flowing streams, and allowing the population of Bucovina another paying livelihood. Except the breeding of native types, they raise successfully foreign species of cattle, like Pintzgau, Simmenthal and Allgau. Sheep-breeding pays, both in the mountains and in the plain. Special attention is being paid to the raising of horses. Rădăuți possesses old and renowned paddocks for arab breeds, with numerous stud-farms.

IV. THE POPULATION OF BUCOVINA

In 1775, when Bucovina was detached from Moldavia and annexed by Austria, the population of the country was very poor on account of the unsettled times and continual warfare. In these 5 market-towns and 352 villages and hamlets there lived at that time 71.750 souls among which 52.750 were Rumanians or native Moldavians, while the remainder was composed of alien ethnic elements as Slavs, Armenians, Jews and Gipsies. The population increased immediately after the annexation because of

additional immigrations and ethnic infiltrations from the neighbouring countries, so that the Austrian authorities could declare the number of inhabitants in Bucovina as having risen in 1778, to 116.926. Among these additional immigrants the greatest number were Slav elements from Galitzia and Germans from Austria, who were colonized in Bucovina by right of law. At the same time colonies of Săcui, Lipovanians and Slovacs settled in Bucovina. Under these circumstances Bucovina became a real mosaic of ethnic languages and fractions, among which the native Rumanian element preserved its dominating situation as we may see from the latest census of 1930. It was found then that in the 5 Bucovinean districts the population was composed of the following ethnic origin:

D I S T R I C T	Rumanians	Hungarians	Germans	Ceho-slovacks
Cernăuți	78.589	610	19.586	315
Storajineț	57.595	62	8.990	165
Rădăuți	89.102	10.291	17.857	86
Suceava	96.401	813	9.991	57
Câmpulung	58.104	105	19.109	48
Bucovina	379.691	11.881	75.532	671
%	41,01	1,4	8,8	—

From the above statistics we may note that the Bucovinian population consists of 5 distinct ethnical elements, namely: the *Rumanian* element, the *Slav*, *German*, *Magyar* and *Jewish* elements. Regarding their numbers these elements vary very much, therefore those whose numbers

are so very small cannot be considered at all in the establishment of the ethnical structure of Bucovina. The magyar element consists only of 1,4% of the Bucovinian population. It lives in four magyar colonies created during the time of the annexation. The Germans are only 8,9%. They are spread over different parts of Bucovina, based upon some formal rules of colonization. The Jews form 10,8% of the Bucovinian population. They have settled there through slow infiltration coming from Galitzia and Podolia which are neighbouring provinces; these Jews form mostly city inhabitants. Thus in the ethnographical structure of Bucovina there are only two constitutive elements: the *immigrated, Slav* element, and the *native, ethnic Rumanian* element.

Russians	Rutenians- Ukrainites	Bulgarians	Servians, Croats	Jews	Turks	Gipsies	Others
3.295	136.380	92	38	51.246	35	112	15.895
1.582	77.382	8	9	15.322	3	287	8.489
1.456	13.915	8	1	11.508	8	352	16.323
1.163	2.090	24	6	6.677	—	606	3.499
482	6.362	—	9	7.738	3	807	2.048
7.948	236.130	133	63	92.492	49	2.164	46.254
0,9	27,7	—	—	10,8	—	0,3	5,4

The Slav population of Bucovina does not form a homogeneous ethnical entity, but is composed of 5 ethnical groups, clearly distinguishable from each other. The most numerous group are the *Rutenians* or the Ukrainits, as they are called. The official reports of the time of the

annexation show them as being native of the neighbouring Galitzian districts. The second group, the *Hutsani* or *Hutsuli*, immigrated into Bucovina, from Pocutzia. The third group is formed by the *Lipovanians* who distinguish themselves from the Ukrainites and Hutsuli by their language and religion. The fourth group are the *Slovacks*, settled in several Bucovinian villages and finally the fifth group, the *Poles*, have immigrated from Poland. They also live in a few villages, but chiefly in the cities, forming a separate ethnical community, completely different from the other Slav groups of Bucovina.

Opposite these different ethnical elements who settled in Bucovina only after its dismemberment from Moldavia and its incorporation into the Habsburg Empire, stand the *Rumanians* or *Moldavians* as they called themselves because they belonged to the principality of Moldavia, as the only ethnical aboriginal element who, with one hand on the plough and the other on the sword, have worked ever since the XIV-th century at the clearing of forests, have dried up the swamps, harrowed the fields, founded villages and cities in Bucovina, and created the Principality of Moldavia, defending it with their own blood, in their secular struggles against all enemies. Foreign and native chronicles praise their military feats, while the historical monuments, strewn all over Bucovina, bear witness of their love of art and original creation. The Rumanians are the weavers and preservers of the ancient historical and artistical traditions of Bucovina; they have impressed this country with the seal of their genius and their labour. Therefore the Rumanians of Bucovina having become masters of their destiny, after the breakdown of Austria,

consequent to the World War, decided whole-heartedly to reincorporate Bucovina to the mother-country Rumania, from whose bosom it had been torn.

V. THE « CONSTITUANT » ASSEMBLY OF BUCOVINA

In the fall of 1918 the World War which had lasted four years was drawing to its end. The Austro-Hungarian message addressed to the President of the United States had no effect, whereupon the Emperor Charles saw himself compelled to issue, on October 17, his notorious message towards the Austrian people, telling them that « *Austria will become, according to the wish of her people, a federal State, in which each nation will form its own state-community, in the boundaries of its national territory* ». The Austrian government was entrusted by this message to begin immediately the preparatory work of organization of a *New Austria*. The new state-organization was supposed to be based upon the 14 points of the Wilson-proclamation, namely upon the sovereign right of self-determination of the nations. So as to speed up the organization of each nation as a separate national state, the representatives of each nation, who were in the Vienna Parliament, were invited, by the imperial message, to form into separate *national councils*, so as to contribute, in this way, more rapidly to the reconstruction of Austria, upon its new federal foundations. The German, Italian, Ceh, Slovak, Polish and Ukrainian representatives, hurried to conform to the imperial message, forming into national councils, and undertaking the responsibility of the destinies of the

provinces which they represented. The same proceeding was expected to be followed by the Bucovinian representatives.

Bucovina was represented at this time in the Vienna Parliament by 14 representatives, among them being 6 Rumanians, 5 Ukrainians, 3 Germans and one Jew. The 5 Ukrainians immediately grouped themselves with their co-nationals of Galitzia into an Ukrainian National Council demanding Bucovina or at least a part of the province for their nation, so as to unite it with Galitzia, for establishing thus the Western Ukrainian State with the Capital Lwow. Under these circumstances the representation of Bucovinian interests remained in the hands of the native Rumanian people who were the upholders of the old political and cultural traditions of Bucovina.

The six Rumanian representatives in the Vienna Parliament, had formed into a National Council under the presidency of Constantin Isopescu-Grecu. But on account of the distance between Vienna and Bucovina the activity of this council was from the very first reduced to gathering information and making propaganda. Some of the representatives wished to return to Bucovina, but adverse circumstances frustrated their intention, and as they were compelled to turn back on their way home, they gave their consent, by wire, to the formation of the National Council of Cernăuți. The Rumanian representatives in the Parliament of Vienna were joined by the Rumanian representatives of the *Dieta* of Bucovina, together with the communal mayors, increased by a number of eminent men in public life, so as to represent all the social classes of Bucovina in this National Council. After some preparatory

work, the leaders of the public life of Bucovina met on October 27, 1918, in the National Palace of Cernăuți in the constituent assembly summoned by the article 2 contained in the Austrian law for meetings. According to the proposal of the oldest president, the consistorial counselor Dionisie Bejan, the Assembly proclaimed Iancu Flondor as president, who thanked them heartily, holding the following speech:

«Gentlemen, a national bondage which lasted for almost one century and a half, and has been as painful as it was shameful, has come to an end. The Rumanian people of Bucovina are upon the point of breaking free from the chains that burdened their soul. As free men in the power of your national sovereignty you will decide today that which you may think fit for realizing a happy and great future of the Rumanian people of Bucovina.

But we must not forget, gentlemen, that this solemn moment was born from hard suffering and deep sorrow, blessed by the abundant blood sacrifice of our heroes. I ask you to rise to your feet as a sign that you swear never to forget and to show yourselves always worthy of such a sacrifice. I end with the ardent prayer: «May God grant that this great moment and others that may follow, should find among us only great souls!». Under the impression of these few but well-placed words, the National Council proceeded to discuss the political situation created by the foreign and inner events which now hastened to conclusions. After the debates, supported by several leaders, the National Council proclaimed itself «*Constituant Assembly of Bucovina*» voting to carry out the following motion:

« I. The representatives of the Rumanian people of Bucovina, assembled today, October 27, 1918, in the Capital of the country, declare themselves by sovereign national power, as the constituent of this Rumanian country.

II. The constituent assembly decides the union of the whole of Bucovina with the other Rumanian countries into an independent national state and will proceed to this end, in thorough understanding with the Rumanians of Transylvania and Hungary.

III. For the leadership of the Rumanian people in Bucovina and for the defence of their rights, and so as to keep in near touch with all the Rumanians, the Constituant established a National Council of 50 members. This Council will represent us by delegates sent to the peace conference and outside its rights we do not recognise the right of anyone to decide or to treat regarding the interests of the Rumanian people of Bucovina.

IV. The Constituant rejects decisively any trial that would aim at the diminution of Bucovina, wishing though to come to an understanding with the other nations living in their midst ».

The motion, having been voted by the Assembly, was received with loud applause, and the national anthem *Deșteaptă-te Române* (Wake up, Rumanians) was sung. All eyes were bathed in tears; after four years of bitter tears, this time they shed tears of joy. While the Assembly proceeded to the election of the members for the National Council, a crowd of thousands of people, men women and children, thronged the streets of Cernăuți, singing national folksongs and demonstrating before the National Palace

and the townhall, asking for the national tricolour-flag to be raised on the public buildings. The enthusiasm of the crowd reached its height, when the eighty years old venerable Dionisie Bejan appeared on the balcony of the National Palace and, adressing the crowd, spoke the biblical words: « Now, Almighty God, free Thy slave, as my eyes have seen the redemption of my people ».

The Constituant Assembly selected a National Council, composed of 50 members, who met for electing Iancu Flondor as president, assisted by 4 vice-presidents and 3 secretaries. A delegation composed of three members was entrusted to acquaint the governor Etzdorf with the motion voted by the Constituant Assembly and to ask him to transfer to them the administrative powers. Asked by the delegation of the National Council, Count Etzdorf, the governor of Bucovina, begged for a personal interview with the president of the National Council. This interview took place on November 4, in the residence of the marshal of Bucovina, Alexandru Hurmuzachi. There, governor Etzdorf informed president Iancu Flondor that according to some reports received from cities and in the provinces, he could no longer guaranty for public order and safety. The soldiers returning from the front disarm the horse-police, looting and pillaging, while he could no longer be seconded by the Ukrainian legion under the command of archduke Wilhelm who called himself Wassyl Weschywan, Kneaz Stephanowicz, because it was under orders of the National Ukrainian Council of Lwow. Faced by this desperate situation, the governor could no longer maintain his official duties and would therefore be ready to transfer his powers to the authorized representatives

of the National Rumanian Council and the Ukrainian National Council, who alone were able to crush anarchy and to reestablish order and public security. President Flondor remarked, in answering the observations of governor Etzdorf, that he doesn't see any guaranty in the condominium proposed by the governor, as the Ukrainians intend to dismember Bucovina and the Ukrainian legions obey the orders of an authority whose seat is not in Bucovina, but in Lwow in Galitzia. Consequently the president of the Rumanian National Council demanded that all the managing power of the province should pass into the hands of this Council. The interview of November 4, ended without result because the governor persisted continually in his conviction of a Rumanian-Ukrainian condominium.

Meanwhile the situation became worse. In the morning of November 6 a platoon of the Ukrainian legion occupied the government palace, demanding the transfer of governing power to the Ukrainian delegates, in association with the representative Aurel Onciul, without the knowledge of the National Rumanian Council, who alone was authorised to speak in the name of the Rumanian people of Bucovina. Under pressure of force the governor Etzdorf found himself obliged to sign the protocole No. 11.556 of November 6, 1918, by which he passed the governing power on to the delegates Onciul, Spânul and Semaca. It was the last document signed by the last Austrian governor of Bucovina. The delegate Aurel Onciul pretended that he represented the Rumanian people of Bucovina, whereas Ilie Semaca and Nicolae Spânul signed as representatives of the Ukrainian people in the National

Council or the Ukrainian Rada of Lwow. The transmission of power was therefore handled by persons who were very little or not at all authorized to represent Bucovina, neither in the sense of the imperial manifesto of October 17, nor in the name of the Bucovinian people. It was consequently natural, that the transmission document for full powers of November 6, should be considered as cancelled, by the National Rumanian Council, who embodied the *Constituant Assembly of Bucovina*.

Immediately after the transfer of full powers, the Rada of Lwow made Omilian Popowicz « *Ukrainian National commissary of Bucovina* », which decided Aurel Onciul to call himself on his own « *National Rumanian commissary of Bucovina*. The new commissaries shared between them the administrative attributions without any authorisation or approval from anyone. A certain Ossyp Bezpalko was made « *city-commissary* » of Cernăuți, without the population of the city being informed of the circumstance. The power of the new « commissaries » was founded upon the Ukrainian legion under the fictitious command of the Kneaz Stephanowicz, when the germs of decomposition and contempt for order and discipline began to show at every step. Important groups of Ukrainian vagabonds penetrated by force into the National Palace to stop the activity of the Rumanian National Council. Under these circumstances the general situation became every day more serious, and alarming. The Austrian army on the Italian front was disbanded and demoralized. Bucovinian soldiers returning from the war brought with them ammunition and fire-arms, which they didn't give to the authorities but kept for their own

use. The army-stores, ammunition and objects belonging to the Bucovinian regiments, were pillaged by the mob and emptied of their contents. A large part of the inhabitants of villages and cities had fire-arms, bombs and explosives which they didn't shrink from using, to satisfy their impulse for looting and pillaging. Everywhere reigned terror and anarchy in Bucovina, and no one's life nor property were safe, after the heavy losses of four years of warfare.

Under these grave emergencies the Rumanian National Council endeavoured, with the help of the Rumanian Council in Vienna, to form national unities, composed of Bucovinian soldiers from the Austrian regiments, for the maintainance of order and public safety. But these endeavours encountered unbreakable difficulties, on account of the immense distance which prevailed between the Southern Austrian front, where the Bucovinians had fought, and their mother-country, to the North. By the time the men returned home, the situation had become unbearable. Therefore, to shield the country from destruction and anarchy, the National Council of Cernăuți decided to ask the Rumanian government of Iassy to undertake a military intervention in Bucovina. The Rumanian government, seeing the desperate situation in Bucovina, decided to intervene for the sake of saving the lives and properties of their countrymen.

On November 9, 1918, a Rumanian airplane, flying above the city of Cernăuți, announced to the population the entrance of the Rumanian army in Bucovina, by the following proclamation, signed by general Iacob Zadik, the commander of the VIII-th division:

« In reply to the call of the Bucovinian National Council, the Rumanian army, by order of H.M. King Ferdinand I of Rumania, has stepped onto the land of the Great Voevod Stefan, so as to protect the life, property and liberty of its inhabitants, against any race and faith, against the gangs of criminals, who have begun their work of destruction in your beautiful country. Passing this frontier, placed between us by an innimical destiny, over one hundred years ago, the Rumanian troops come among you, bringing you their love and support for the free distribution of your wishes, born from the legitimate right of nations to dispose of their destiny.

Led by these sentiments and believing in the sincerity of your demand for help, we invite the Bucovinian people on no account to interrupt their usual normal ways of life.

I, the undersigned, guaranty to every inhabitant, the free exercise of his civil duties and make known at the same time that any disturbance of order, any violent actions or unsubscription to our orders will be subdued with the greatest severity ».

Crossing the frontier at Burdujeni, the Rumanian army cheered by the population, entered the city of Suceava, the ancient princely residence of Moldavia. From there the Rumanian troops advanced in good order without resistance from the unities of the Ukrainian legions, who retracted towards Galitzia, the Rumanian army being received everywhere in villages and towns, with flowers and incessant cheers. Those were great moments, when after one century and a half, the inhabitants of Bucovina, saw once more the return of the era of Moldavian glory and greatness.

The Rumanian army entered, on November 11, the city of Cernăuți, capital of Bucovina. At the head of the army rode general Zadik, followed by his General Staff. In front of the National Palace in the Union Square, he was met by Iancu Flondor, with the following words: « General, as president of the Rumanian National Council, it is my duty to welcome the superb Rumanian host in the capital of Bucovina, of this country which holds sacred in its bosom the holy relics of our great prince Stefan. Now that we are upon the point of fulfilling his inheritance, Great Rumania, we feel his immortal soul in our midst. A sacred thrill is passing through our hearts, but it is not given to the human beings to express and affirm these feelings, in so many words. A prayer alone, soaring up to Heaven, can correspond to our silent emotion. General! Allow me to bless you, as two brothers would bless each other, who, after a long and painful separation, find one another never to part again. I do this, opening my arms and embracing you heartily.

Gentlemen, now we must thank from the depths of our hearts, the greatest and best of all Rumanians, H. M. King Ferdinand. Long may He live! ».

The general replied to the salute of the president of the National Council in the following words:

« Worthy citizens of Bucovina. Consequent to the wish of the Bucovinian National Council, H. M. King Ferdinand and the home-country have answered your call, bringing their support for the upholding of the peace of this country. Arriving here, I bring to the Bucovinian country the greeting and sentiments of brotherly love, and I may say of motherly love, from free Rumania.

At the same time my thoughts are raised towards God, thanking Him on Great Rumania's part, for having upheld our holy rights. Holy justice has conquered. Blood had to flow for the separation of Bucovina from Rumania, even a crowned head had to fall; for its reintegration not a drop of blood was spilt.

Let us call out in these moments of joy: Long live Great Rumania, Long live Bucovina, Long live King Ferdinand! ».

Upon these words being spoken, the crowd, which filled the Union Square, burst into enthusiastic cheers: Long live Great Rumania, Long live the Royal Family! Platoons of soldiers marched through the principal square which, from that day was called *Union Square*, where a great *hora* (national dance) was formed, danced by the public and the soldiers.

After the manifestation, the president of the National Council sent the following telegram of thanksgiving to King Ferdinand, in Iassy: « As today at eleven o'clock the great Rumanian army of the King of Rumania entered the capital, Cernăuți, met by general enthusiasm, we bring to your Majesty, full of faith and love, the homage of a free Bucovina. Long live Your Majesty, King of Great Rumania! ».

King Ferdinand replied on the very same day, to the telegram of homage of the National Council, by the following wire: « With the deepest emotion and My heart full of patriotic joy, I receive the news that My troops have entered the capital of Rumanian Bucovina, bringing to all order and inner peace, to those who, in these historical moments have felt and worked for the realization of our

secular dream. I can well imagine how your Rumanian hearts have been thrilled by patriotic joy at the sight of the national tricolour-flag carried along by the Rumanian soldier, your brother by blood and soul.

I am grateful to you from the depths of My heart for the patriotic work which you have accomplished for the love of your race, shown with so much manliness. I thank you, as I thank all those who have supported you in these great times.

May the Almighty grant that all the people of Bucovina should ever enjoy protection, justice and freedom under the folds of the national flag! ».

In front of the Rumanian army, full of a high consciousness of order and discipline, the undisciplined unities of the Ukrainian legions retreated hastily into Galitzia without opposing any resistance. The Rumanian troops occupied, without encountering any opposition, the whole territory of Bucovina, up to Ceremuș, Colacin and the Nistru, being met everywhere with joy and confidence. The brave soldiers of the VIII-th division penetrated even on to the other side of the Bucovinian frontier, to Pocutzia, where in understanding with the local authorities in villages and cities, they reestablished order thus ensuring the life and properties of citizens who were longing for peace.

Soon after the reestablishment of public order by the Rumanian army, the National Council was able to continue its work of pacifying the minds and reorganization of public life.

The day after the entrance of the Rumanian army in Cernăuți, the National Council met on November 12, at

a public sitting in the building of the Bucovinian Dieta voting «*the fundamental temporary law on the governing powers in the country of Bucovina*». Based upon this law the National Council embodied the supreme power of the country. The legislative power remained entrusted to the assembly of the council, while the executive power was given to a «government» of the country. The government was responsible to the National Council and was composed of a *president* and *13 secretaries of State*, namely for the foreign ministries, home-office, finance, justice, home-defence, agriculture, instruction, church, commerce and industry, labour and food-supplies, reconstruction, post and telegraph and sanitation. The president and the members of the government were elected by the National Council. As Iancu Flondor, the president of the Council had been made president of the government, he could not remain any longer president of the National Council. Considering this situation he resigned the dignity of president of the Council, who elected Dionisie Bejan in his stead. According to the rules of the fundamental temporary law, the new president swore his oath into the hands of Iancu Flondor, president of the government and his 13 secretaries of state.

After having been sworn in, the government began its activity. For reestablishing order and peace, necessary to every fertile activity, the government proclaimed martial law on November 12, over some regions of Bucovina, by which the inhabitants were summoned to lay down their fire-arms and any ammunition they might possess, at the comandments of the horse-police, the transgressors of this order being sanctioned according to the letter of

martial law. On the same day Iancu Flondor, president of the government, launched a proclamation towards the Rumanian people of Bucovina with the following contents:

« The world war, the gigantic struggle of justice and liberty against the oppressing militarism and imperialism, also gave birth to subjected nations.

The Bucovinian Rumanians, taking advantage of their sovereign national rights, now recognised by everyone, have decided at the Constituant Assembly of October 27, 1918, to govern themselves, their own country, Bucovina, the sacred land of their ancestors.

The former Austrian government opposed this just demand, but yielded to the force of the Rutenians. Thus the power of the country passed into the hands of the Rutenians and consequently caused the anarchy which spread over the whole country.

Faced by these difficulties, the National Council, the legitimate representative of the Rumanian people, was compelled to ask for the help of their brothers from the Kingdom, begging for the intervention of the Rumanian army.

His Majesty the King, considering this demand as justified, gave orders for the army to occupy the country.

To establish, once more, justice and order, the National Council took over the governing power of the country, on November 10, exercising it by its own *government*.

The inhabitants of this country, belonging to alien nationalities, are called upon, of course, in their own interest, to submit to this government, who will understand to observe their several natural interests.

The next day, November 13, the National Council was called to meet again in public, to allow the president of the government to develop his political program. The Council approved unanimously of its contents, especially the part regarding foreign politics, where the government showed that it wants to try and maintain *close relations with the Kingdom of Rumania and Transylvania*. To this end professor Sextil Pușcariu was sent on a diplomatic mission to Iassy, to carry to the King of Rumania the message of thanks from the National Council, for the intervention of the Rumanian army, the most powerful safeguard for pacifying Bucovina and for guiding it towards its moral and material reconstruction. Here are the contents of the message:

« Your Majesty. We come as messengers from Bucovina and thank God for having granted us the honour of bringing to You the hearts and soul of all Moldavians from across the Molná; our hearts are full of thanksgivings and deep gratitude, for the protection You have given us, so as to realise the dream of our fathers; we have purified our souls during the years of deep sorrow, souls which knew no other yearning but that of being able to work for the building up of a Great Rumania.

We come, Your Majesty, to bring You news, at the moment when the ancient province of Suceava and Cernăuți, with the districts of Câmpulung and Cotman have been united to the mother-country. Under the stone-slab of Putna, Saint Stefan, after forty three years of profound sleep troubled by ugly dreams has found peace once more because henceforth He knows that the destiny

of His soul is now in the hands of king Ferdinand, the Deliverer of all the Rumanians.

Long live Your Majesty! ».

In Iassy, professor Sextil Pușcariu got in connection with the members of the *Committee of the Bucovinian refugees*, headed by professor I. Nistor, the author of this writing, so as to get in touch with the political situation in Rumania, with the political interventions of the refugees and their plan of action. The political events of Europe followed one another in headlong haste. Austria, Cehoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Poland proclaimed themselves independent national states. Rumania, which had taken part in the war for the union of all the Rumanians in their ethnical and historical boundaries, had become the centre of political and national popularization for all the Rumanian states, which were under foreign rule. The population of Bucovina, together with the people of Bessarabia and Transylvania wished to be united to their brothers of Rumania. The sentiment of national solidarity was strengthened also by the instinct of preservation of the Rumanian aboriginals. Neither Bucovina, Bessarabia nor Transylvania could lead their own political and independent life, on account of their geographical situation and insufficient material means for their own state-life. They had to unite with the mother-country Rumania and to join in the new political structure upon wider foundations and more ample formations. The Bucovinian refugees militated in favour of this solution together with the unities of voluntaries who had been framed into the Rumanian army. The idea meant the unconditioned union of Bucovina with the Kingdom of Rumania. The members

of the National Council of Cernăuțui were glowing with the same ideal, meeting in a Constituant Assembly, and deciding to ask in Iassy for the intervention of the army. At the same time with the army, the refugees and Bucovinian voluntaries returned to Bucovina; in their name professor Gheorghe Tofan made the following declaration at the Assembly of the National Council on November 25:

« The historical trial of centuries of our race is liquidated today. In these moments of lofty elevation, we the voluntary Bucovinian refugees have returned to our forsaken hearths.

Having the consciousness of duty fulfilled, we stretch out a brotherly hand to those who remained at home, who have preserved their conscience unsullied for the sincere wish to work jointly with us for the progress of our country and our race.

We bow reverently before the toil of the past generation which, under hard circumstances, has defended the Rumanian character of the country, preserving in its soul the living flame of the same ideal which exalts us all today.

Faithful to our national historical traditions, we shall not shun confronting and finding a solution for all the great problems which today disturb the lives of nations.

We are, before everything else, the intransigent adherents of the unconditioned and thorough union of all Rumanian countries, within their ethnical and historical boundaries, into a unitary national state, as only thus can our people realize their historical destiny.

In the solving of all the problems regarding public interest, we shall be led by the widest democratic principles, granting to the masses of the people the rewards due

to the generous sacrifices which they offered their country, in the past and present.

We recognize the right for the national minorities to develop freely inside the Rumanian unitary state, conforming to the legitimate national aims of the Rumanian race, native in this country; we demand though, the elimination of all the injustice committed against us during the 143 years of foreign rule.

Uplifted above all prejudice, forgetting all the past with its misunderstandings, our thoughts are directed in these great moments, but to the future of our beloved race calling all those of one mind with us to work for its welfare ».

The ideas and principles exposed in the memorandum of the refugees and voluntaries were shared altogether by the members of the National Council, which was increased by the cooption of a number of 12 refugees and voluntaries.

At the memorable meeting of November 25, the members of the Constituant Assembly, in full understanding and with great exaltation, decided to summon the *General Congress of Bucovina* for November 28, 1918, with the following program: *The establishment of the political relations of Bucovina with the Kingdom of Rumania*. The government of Bucovina was entrusted with the fulfilment of this important decision.

VI. THE GENERAL CONGRESS OF BUCOVINA

The government of Bucovina, according to the decision of the Constituant Assembly, sent out official invitations to the Congress. The persons invited were: the

Rumanian National Council, numbering 74 persons, namely: Ion Anghel, Grigore Bălan, Gheorghe Bancescu, Dionisie Bejan, Ilie Berlinschi, Vasile Budnărescu, Victor Bodnărescu, Gheorghe Boncheș, Eugen Botezat, Dimitrie Bucevschi, Ioan Candrea, Nicu Carabioschi, Cornel Clain, Nicolae Cojocar, Constantin Cozmiuc, Dimitrie Dan, Romul Dan, Filaret Doboș, Vasile Fediuc, Iancu Flondor, Nicu Flondor, Octavian Gheorghian, Vasile Gheorghian, Vasile Grecu, Radu Grigorcea, Gheorghe Grigorcea, Maximilian Hacman, Cornel Homenca, Mihai Iacoban, Alexandru Ieșan, Gheorghe Jemna, Toader Leuștean, Florea Lupu, Gheorghe Lavric, Vasile Marcu, Dimitrie Marmeliuc, Nicolai Mihăilescu, Aurel Morariu, Constantin Nastasi, Constantin Niculiță-Popovici, Vasile Nichita, Ion I. Nistor, Ilie Odachiavă, Apolo Patraș, Petrea Popescu, Dorime-dont Popovici, Eusebie Popovici, Atanasie Pridie, Alexe Procopovici, Vladimir Repta, Vasile Reus, Vespazian Reuț, Gavril Rotică, Ștefan Saghin, Gheorghe Șandru, Vasile Alboi Șandru, Gheorghe Sârbu, Ion Sbiera, Radu Sbiera, Modest Scarlat, Tudor Stefanelli, Ion Stârcea, Ipolit Tarnavschi, Gheorghe Tofan, Victor Tomașciuc, Laurențiu Tomoiagă, Aurel Țurcan, Dimitrie Țurcan, Nicu Vasiloschi, Nicolai Vlad, Gheorghe Voitcu, Aurel Voronca, Octavian Voronca.

Then the representatives of the minorities living in Bucovina were invited to the Congress. The members of the Ukrainian National Council did not take part at this Congress because they belonged to the Ukainian Rada of Lwow, where they fought for the creation of Western Ukrain, wherein they meant to include several regions of Bucovina. On the other hand 13 representatives of the

Ukrainian people from the country villages took part in this Congress, having declared themselves from the very first against the dismemberment of Bucovina, supporting energetically the integrity of the province and its union with Rumania. Here are the names of the Ukrainian representatives at the General Congress of Bucovina of November 28, 1918: Comosciuc Nicolai, Ținta George, Mintici Ioan, Masichevici Gheorghe, Topa Alexandru, Răileanu Grigore, Poclitar Ion, Mardari Toader, Macarenco Vasile, Macarenco Dumitru, Ilasciuc Vasile, Lupul Vasile and Crasovschi Toader.

The *German National Council* was represented at the Congress by the following delegates: Rudolf Gaidosch, Dr. Victor Glondys, Dr. Adam Hodel, Rafael Kaindl, Edwin Landwehr von Pragenau, Dr. Alois Lebuton and Ernst Walis.

The *Polish National Council* was represented by Dr. Basil Duzinkiewicz, Ernst Kaminski, Dr. Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, Vladimir Pospiszil, Leopold Schweiger and Dr. Edmund Wicentowicz.

Thus, *100 delegates who had the right to vote, were present at the Congress*. The Congress took place in the synodical hall of the Archbishop's Palace before a numerous audience, who came here on purpose from villages and towns. The Congress was opened at 11 a.m. by Dionisie Bejan, president of the Rumanian National Council, who held the following speech:

« Gentlemen, The National Council, sole legitimate representative of the national will of the Rumanian people of Bucovina, decided, at the meeting of November 25, its settling into a Congress which should meet today, No-

vember 28, in order to fulfil the longing and aspirations which the Rumanians nourished and guarded for over one century and a half.

Assembled today in this great hall, which must remain the symbol of our union by faith, faith in God and our race, I greet with boundless love the representatives of the brave Rumanian army, who by order of H. M. King Ferdinand I has extended to us its helping hand in moments of the gravest danger. I greet with the same love the representatives of our brothers from Bessarabia, Transylvania and Hungary. Profoundly stirred, I greet you, the leaders of the Rumanian race from Bucovina, who have come here from the four corners of the country, so as to lay the foundation stone upon which we must build, lastingly and unshakeably, a Great Rumania. I greet also with friendly feelings the representatives of the Bucovinian minorities, Ukrainians, Germans and Poles, inviting you to our common work for the prosperity of the country.

I implore the mercy and blessing of God for the decisions which you are about to take.

At the same time I beg you and propose that you may elect for the leadership, during the debates of the Congress, our beloved Dr. Iancu Flondor ».

The Congress accepted the proposal made by Dionisie Bejan, proclaiming Iancu Flondor as president of the General Congress. After taking the chair, Iancu Flondor spoke the following words:

« Sir, The confidence you show by electing me as president of this memorable assembly, will give me a new impulse and help me to proceed with energy, and free from any hesitation, upon the new way which leads to the

haven of redemption of our race. I thank you with all my heart ».

The president, showing the motives which have determined the meeting of the General Congress, proposed, regarding the stabilization of the political relations between Bucovina and the Kingdom of Rumania, the following *Motion* :

« The General Congress of Bucovina met today, Thursday, November 15/28, 1918, in the hall of the synode of Cernăuți.

Considering that, since the foundation of the Rumanian principalities, Bucovina, which includes the ancient regions of Suceava and Cernăuți, was a part of Moldavia, and this amalgamated around it as a state ;

Considering that inside the boundaries of this state is to be found the seat of the princes of Suceava, that here lie the princely tombs of Rădăuți, Putna and Sucevița, as well as many other traces and beloved reminiscences of the Moldavian past ;

Considering that the sons of this country, shoulder to shoulder with their brothers of Moldavia, and under the leadership of the self-same princes have defended, all along the centuries, the being of their race against all interference from outside and also against heathen invasions ;

Considering that in 1774 Bucovina has been torn away by mere cunning, from the body of Moldavia and annexed by force to the Habsburg Crown ;

Considering that the Bucovinian people have undergone the sufferings of foreign rule, which ignored their national rights, and who by back-ways and persecutions tried to

disaffect their natural being and cause enmity between them and the other native races, with whom our people meant to live in peace;

Considering that, during 144 years the Bucovinians have fought like martyrs on all the battlefields of Europe under a foreign flag, to the maintainance, glory and greatness of their oppressors, and that, as the only reward, they had to endure the frustration of their inherited rights, even the expulsion of their own language from public life and from the church;

Considering that, at the same time, the aboriginal people were prevented systematically to make use of the rich sources of production of this country and deprived partially of their ancient inheritance;

Considering that, in spite of all, the Bucovinians have not lost the hope that the hour of redemption, longed for with so much yearning and sorrow, will come at last and that their ancestral inheritance, cut off by illegal frontiers, will be reunited by the remelting of the Bucovina to Stefan's Moldavia and that they have ever nourished the belief that the great dream of the race will come true, when all the Rumanian countries, between the Nistru and the Tisa, will unite into one unitary national state;

We find that the great moment has come. Now that, after gigantic efforts and sacrifice incurred by Rumania and its powerful and noble Allies, the principle of justice and humanity has been enthroned in the world for all races and now, when after crushing blows received, the monarchy of Austro-Hungary has been shaken to its base and fallen to pieces, when all the oppressed nations that suffered under its chains have regained the right to decide about

their own destiny, the first thought of free Bucovina is for the kingdom of Rumania, to which we have always trusted for our final freedom ;

Therefore we, The General Congress of Bucovina, embodying the supreme power of the country and being the only one having legal rights, in the name of national sovereignty :

Decide The unconditioned and eternal Union of Bucovina, inside its ancient boundaries up to the Ceremuş, Colacin and Nistru, with the Kingdom of Rumania ».

After the reading of the motion, the president opened the discussion on the subject, amidst the cheers of the Congress. The motion was supported, for the Rumanian National Council, by Ion I. Nistor, who spoke the following words :

« President, Gentlemen, States are the temporary creations wrought by human power, while nations and living organism are born, develop and fulfil their historical destiny by the will and mercy of God. The contrast between state and nation has been strikingly shown in the history of the Rumanian people. The Rumanian nation is one and undivided from the Nistru to the Tisa. The self-same source, the same language, the same *doina* (folksong), the same ancestral traditions and customs appear everywhere where the Rumanian races have settled down. Nevertheless inimical circumstances prevented our ancestors from founding a unitary national state which should enclose the whole race in its ethnical and historical boundaries.

Transylvania, the cradle of our race, has been acquired by the Hungarians over 1000 years ago, and even the

Rumanian principalities, Muntenia and Moldavia, which had formed themselves at the foot of the Carpataian mountains, were hindered in their free development and narrowed down by illegal frontiers. Thus, first of all, Bucovina was « cut away » from Stefan the Great's Moldavia, and then Bessarabia, between the Prut and the Nistru, had the same fate.

It was in the midst of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768—1774, when Austria immediately after the dismemberment of Poland, asked Turkey for a strip from the land of Moldavia, so as to open a way towards their newly annexed territory of Galitzia and towards Transylvania which had been subjected before by the Hungarians. The consent of the Sublime Porte was achieved with money and rich presents. When they came to assign the limits of this land, Austria was not satisfied with a narrow strip of country, which it had asked for at first, but had included into its « belt » the entire region of Cernăuți and the greatest part of the land of Suceava, together with the ancient citadel of the princes inside the city of Suceava, enclosing the tomb of Stefan the Great at Putna, in one word, the upper part of Moldavia, the richest in historical monuments and reminiscences, dear to the whole Rumanian race.

The boiers (nobles) and the clergy protested in vain, together with Prince Grigore Ghica, against the trespass upon the boundaries of the country, showing to the Sublime Porte that Austria had taken instead of a narrow strip for the opening of a way, two entire regions, away from the classical land of the Voevodat of Moldavia. But unfortunately the protests of the Moldvians were lost on

them because the Austrian diplomacy threw gold abundantly into Istambul to prevent the Turks from taking any notice of our complaints. Thus the thing happened which, judging by the political constellation of the time, Prince Ghica could not prevent, that is to say, the cession to Austria of the two frontier regions, which she christened Bucovina, so as to mask the dismemberment of Moldavia in the eyes of European diplomacy.

The document of this cession was signed at Balamutca on the Nistru, without the consent of our fathers by the Sublime Porte, the Suzerain, who, by virtue of her capitulations with the princes of Moldavia had no right to cede even a span from the territory of vassal principalities. The later declarations of our fathers can have no lawful power, having been rung by the usurpers from an enslaved population, deprived of its natural right to express itself freely on its political destiny.

Today, from all the contracting powers of 1775, Austria has broken to pieces under the weight of its secular sins and crimes, we, the followers of the natives of this country, becoming masters over our own decisions, declare now the cession-document of 1775 as void, and decide the remoulding of Bucovina to Moldavia, from the body of which it had been torn.

Our decision must be firm and unchangeable, because for 144 years Austria made use of all sorts of means for destroying our race, laughing at our unalienable rights over this beautiful and blessed country. Austria has disconsidered continually the rights of our language; she has hampered our cultural development, using our wealth for her own ends and against our most vital interests.

All those who, in Bucovina, felt as Rumanian people, were persecuted and exiled. In Bucovina there was no room for the assertion of a Rumanian national life; the greatest of Rumanians there, were not allowed to live and feel as Rumanians.

They brought foreign colonists upon the estates of our churchfunds while the native Rumanians were obliged to emigrate from Bucovina. During the World War the Austrian rulers used the most hateful means for destroying us. Besides, Austria gave up her rights to Bucovina willingly in 1918, obliging herself by a secret Austro-Ukrainian treaty which was denounced to the world by the *Kölnische Zeitung*, to unite it with Eastern Galitzia into an autonomous province of the Popular Ukrainian Republic. Chancellor Czernin signed the peace treaty of Brest-Litowsk on February 8, 1918, receiving in exchange for the cession of Bucovina, one million *puds* of wheat for the nourishment of the starved Viennese population. But we, the same as our forefathers of 1775, protested with all our might before of the world, against this shameful bargain at the expense of our Bucovinian fatherland. As followers of the Moldavian archers who were fighting to defend their ancestral estate and as preservers of its ancient historical and secular traditions, we demand decisively the unconditioned reintegration into our mother-country Rumania. Deeply moved by these sentiments I declare in the name of the members of the Rumanian National Council that we vote the motion for the Union, proposed by the president ».

The following speaker was Mr. Alois Lebouton who made the following declaration of adherence to the Union, saying:

«Expecting the union of Transylvania and the Banat with Rumania, and having all confidence in the program of the temporary government of the country, shown at the meeting of the Rumanian National Council of November 13, 1918, which has been approved of by unanimous voting, and based upon the assurance that due consideration will be shown to the cultural needs of the non-Rumanian people living in this country, therefore only principles of justice and right being decisive, the German National Council pronounced itself in the name of the Germans of Bucovina in favour of the union of Bucovina with the Kingdom of Rumania ».

The Congress acknowledged the declaration made in the name of the Germans. The president then invited Stanislaw Kwiatkowski to speak, who made the following declaration in the name of the Poles of Bucovina:

«The Polish people, fulfilling their historical mission for the defence of Christianity and culture in the East of Europe, having filled numerous tombs with the bodies of their soldiers for centuries in the Southern regions of the Nistru, a territory where the Rumanian nation have been rightful owners from ancient times.

We, the Poles, who live today in Bucovina, legitimize our ancient rights to live in this country, by the blood shed in these regions, this soil which is covered by the bones of our Polish knights, to which have been added the new tombs of the legionaries who fell in the World War.

Based upon these rights, we have lived here for the last 150 years as an active element of culture, at peace and in good understanding with the Rumanian nation, who, though suffering deeply, by the long foreign rule, has always

shown a warm heart for the neighbouring Polish people, at a time when the martyrs of our liberty were seeking protection and shelter against their oppressors, this side of the Nistru. Uneffaced will remain in our remembrance the year 1863, when the chivalrous Rumanian people hospitably opened their castles and houses to the emigrating revolutionary Poles who had shed their blood for the freedom of their nation. We the Poles, the Eastern shield of the Polish race, who in these moments clothe ourselves upon our shoulders, whipped by the horrors of one century and a half, with the purple mantle, torn into three strips, the mantle of political union of all the Polish countries between the Baltic and the Nistru, we warmly greet the sacred day of the Resurrection of United Rumania.

We recognize fully the undaunted rights of the Rumanian people upon the country South of the Nistru in general, and especially upon Bucovina. The Bucovinian Poles, who have proved here in Bucovina that national persistence is lasting, express, in these historical moments of the Union of Bucovina with her mother-country, Rumania, their unshaken confidence towards the Rumanian nation, considering the special declaration of the present government, that they will grant the Polish minorities the free exercise of their catholic faith, the free use of the Polish language in church and school, the free establishing and exercise of their professions and finally, a partial constitutional share in the management of the country. Moved by these sentiments I declare in the name of the Polish minorities that we vote for the motion ».

The words of the polish representative were warmly applauded by the Congress.

In the name of the Ukrainian delegates, Nicolae Chorneiczuk from Putila, declares that the peasantry and he will therefore proceed to vote the motion for the Union.

Seeing that there was no one more to speak, Iancu Flondor, the president, announced, after forwarding the Union Motion to vote, and amid mad applause, that the motion has been adopted with unanimous votes.

In answer to the president's proposal it was decided that the unanimous resolution of the Congress should be brought before King Ferdinand, the Rumanian Government and before the Ministers of France, England, Italy and the United States, who were in Iassy. Moreover the Congress elected a delegation of 15 members composed from all social stations and which should present the Union Motion to King Ferdinand! Taking part in this delegation were the following: Iancu Flondor, the Metropolitan Vladimir Repta, Ion I. Nistor, Dionisie Bejan, Euxodiu Hurmuzachi, Octavian Gheorghian, Radu Sbiera, Basile Bodnărescu, Gheorghe Șandru, Vasile Marcu, Dimitrie Buceschi, Gheorghe Voitcu, Vasile Alboi Șandru, Ioan Candrea, and Stanislaw Kwiatkowski.

After reading the day's report the president closes the Congress with the following words:

«Gentlemen, when the historian will have the opportunity of analysing the cause of the historical act accomplished in this hall today, he will pause before the Rumanian Crown Meeting's decision to enter the gigantic fight at the side of the Powers of the Entente. He will find that this decisive resolution was linked to the person of King Ferdinand the Ist who knew how to fulfil His historical mission.

The chronicler will be able to follow up the trail of the cause, for, asking himself why it was that King Ferdinand the I-st reigned in Rumanian just at the most critical period of our history, the only answer he will find will be « Providence ».

And we, the King's contemporaries, who have suffered and rejoiced at his side, have the precise impression of all the happenings. To our last breath, we shall not forget the unequalled sacrifices which the King, as a human being, has set forth for the realization of our national ideal. We know very well that we have only Him to thank, for Great Rumania, which, otherwise, would have always remained an inaccessible national dream. Therefore we must direct our hearts towards Him, swearing eternal, unalterable faith.

Long live His Majesty, our beloved and Great King Ferdinand the I-st.

Long live Her Majesty Queen Maria, well-beloved by all Rumanians!

Long live the Rumanian Dynasty! »

Amid the enthusiastic applause of the Congress, the choir sings the Royal Anthem.

The president closes the Congress at the 13-th hour.

Directly after the close of the Congress the following telegram was sent to King Ferdinand:

« The General Congress of Bucovina, which has embodied the supreme power of the country, in the name of national sovereignty, has voted today unanimously, the unconditioned and eternal union of Bucovina, as it stands with the Rumanian Kingdon. We thank heavenly providence for helping us to see the expiation of the iniquity

which was committed against our country 144 years ago, and we are proud of being able to applaud Your Majesty as King and Prince, liberator and caretaker of Bucovina, and we beg Your Majesty to receive us under His protective sceptre so that, linking together again the historical chain which was broken a century and a half ago, You should renew the splendour of the Crown of Ștefan the Great.

Long live Your Majesty, happily and for many years hence.

Long live Her Majesty the Queen!

Long live the Rumanian Dynasty! »

On the same memorable day the president of the Congress received the following telegram, in answer from the King:

« With unutterable joy I salute the great act through which the General Congress of Bucovina, with the expressed will of the whole Rumanian people, has decided the perfect union of Bucovina with the Rumanian Kingdom. From the depths of my soul I thank heavenly Providence which allowed that under My Rule, the daughter that was lost 144 years ago, should be brought back to the bosom of the Mother-Country, bringing with it new energies for the prosperity of the nation!

At this uplifting moment my thoughts are directed towards those patriotical men who, in spite of all the sufferings they underwent in the course of time, have known how to keep alive in the hearts of the people, the memory of Ștefan the Great and Holy, and National sentiment, preaching thus, without hesitation and animated by warm patriotism, the coming of this blessed day.

With deep thankfulness I accept, in the name of my people, the incorporation of Bucovina in the Rumanian Kingdom, assuring the population of Bucovina that they will always find in Me a strong support and fatherly love ».

More telegrams were sent to the representatives in Iassy of the Powers of the Entente, with the following contents:

« Your Excellency, by virtue of people's rights to decide of their own fate, the General Congress of Bucovina has unanimously voted, today the union of Bucovina, in its old limits of Ceremuş, Colacin and the Nistru, to the Kingdom of Rumania.

Full of admiration for the great principles of freedom and justice by which the country of Your Excellency was guided in this war, and full of thankfulness for the disinterested sacrifices made by the noble nation of Your Excellency, we beg to be allowed to notify to the Government which You represent, the unanimous vote of the General Congress of Bucovina and beg Your Excellency to transmit our sentiments of eternal gratitude.

We avail ourselves of this same opportunity to express our heartiest thanks to Your Excellency personally, for the great love with which You have presented and helped our just cause in these times of very hard trials and in the decisive moments of our National life ».

To this wire, the French Minister in Bucarest, Count Saint-Aulaire sent the following answer:

« I am deeply moved by the noble sentiments expressed towards France in the name of the General Congress of Bucovina, as well as by the thought that you have found it fit to show your special friendship for my country,

just at the moment when you proclaim your union with Rumania.

I feel incited to transmit this to the Government of the Republic, begging it at the same time to defend the just cause of the Rumanians. France has remained faithful to her great mission in the world. We shall never forget that the Rumanians, blood-relations of the French, have made the same sacrifices, for the realization of the same ideals. It is the will of these martyrs, that we should remain united for ever.

In the name of the French Government, and in my own name, I congratulate Your generous Nation, Your King, loyal and faithful to Bucovina, the new Rumanian province as well Yourself personally, whose action, example and authority, have helped so much and so usefully the realization of the Rumanian dream ».

The telegram which the president of the Congress sent to the Rumanian Government in Iassy, received the following answer:

« The Royal Government greets, with the greatest joy, the General Congress of Bucovina and recognizes, with unlimited thanksgiving, the decision which was so unanimously given.

The Rumanian People of the Kingdom, through the mouthpiece of the Government, expresses its most perfect assurance that it will spare no sacrifice so that beautiful Bucovina, in its historical limits, may ever remain linked to the body of its Mother-Country.

The Rumanian People woke up when the hour came for making triumphant the justice and freedom of the nation.

From this day hence Great Rumania is achieved; let us thank the Lord and say: Long live the Rumania of Mihai the Brave and Ștefan the Great and Holy, Ferdinand the I-st's Rumania of today. Signed: the Prime Minister, the General of the Army Corps, Adjutant Coandă ».

The Italian Chargé d'Affaires sent the following hearty answer to the Congress:

« I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram to which I could not reply before, it having been received rather late.

The principle of nationalities, as a basis to the founding of states, was proclaimed by an Italian statesman and maintained by the Italian people during a century of struggles, and by Italian armies, in four wars. Today when the realization of this principle has been attained in all Europe, Italy enjoys the liberation of subjugated nations just as she enjoys the liberation of her own sons. Deeply moved and full of gratitude, she gazes on Rumania who, under the sceptre of her King, through the vigilance of her army and the faith of her people, achieves the unity of her race.

I will not overlook transmitting Your telegram to the knowledge of the Royal Italian Government and, thanking you for your kind expression of sentiments, I take the liberty of bringing, myself, the sincerest congratulations for the happiness and prosperity of Great Rumania ».

The delegation elected by the Congress for presenting to the King, at Iassy, the Union Motion, was received solemnly by His Majesty on the 29-th of November 1918. When presenting the union act, Iancu Flondor the president, made the following speech:

Your Majesty,

« We lay before Your Majesty King of all the Rumanians the respect of the whole nation.

This nation has had old and purely Rumanian foundations, from the time when Rumanian shepherds lived in the galitian moutains and when the villages of the Haliciu country was colonized with Rumanian farmers. Towards these Rumanian places the Voevods coming from Mara-mureş directed their first steps, for the purpose of creating a new country for their people.

There, at Rădăuţi, the bones of the founders of Moldavia were mixed together, in that earth; there, in our country, in Suceava, was established the first metropolitane for all the sections of this Rumanian ruled country. There, in our country, in Putna, Ştefan the Great, the greatest predecessor of Your Majesty, chose to erect the house of eternal repose for His sacred bones, not only for the defence of His nation but also for the defence of eastern and western christianity before which stood, like an undaunted wall, his bravery. There, in our country, the moldavian art of building has glorified, — in the form of walls, between which today, the old bells are ringing for our union with the other free part of the country, — its greatest triumphs.

This country is now entrusted to Your Majesty by all of us, not only the followers of the brave Rumanian warriors of old, who have never forgotten the national body of which they are a part, but also by the representatives of all the people who came, in time, to settle down under the kind and humane protection of Rumanian Princes, by the

Moldavians who know that Rumania of today has inherited all the good and hospitable traditions of Moldavia.

One hundred and forty four years ago, we were separated from Moldavia by a peace contracted between the Turks, who had no right to separate us, and the Austrians who, before passing the Moldavian frontier, had not taken the trouble to ask the opinion of the inhabitants. Nowadays their power no more exists, neither their right, — which was created through a treaty bought with money — to keep up a frontier devoid of reason and which we have never openly accepted.

Just a few of us left, but now many are coming back. The old heart is unchanged. We have transmitted it to our guests and brothers of that nation, who, by our side, have come to meet Your Majesty. This is not an armed conquest but a return home of lost brothers who find again in the person of Your Majesty, the long-lost and longed-for father.

Long live Your Majesty!

Long live Her Majesty Queen Maria! long live, prosper and flourish Bucovina, forever united to Rumania! ».

Deeply moved by the fine and sincere words spoken by president Flondor, King Ferdinand replied that He receives with great joy the union act of Bucovina and assured His new subjects of all His love, protection and fatherly solicitude.

VII. RECOGNITION OF THE UNION

After receiving the union act, the Rumanian Government elaborated the proper Decree for its acceptance and recognition. Ioan I. C. Brătianu, Prime Minister, annexed the following account of motives to the Decree:

« Sire, the undaunted valour of the Rumanian army fighting for a sacred cause beside her glorious allies, the unbroken faith which the Rumanian people has shown everywhere, in the triumph of its national unity, have wiped away for ever the injustice that took place in 1774 when Moldavia lost, through its separation from Bucovina, not only the cradle of her national development, but even the tomb of the Voevod, Ștefan the Great and the Good.

Now, after 144 years of slavery under foreign rule, the General Congress of Bucovina, in the freedom of its resolutions, and assembled, on the 15/28 November, embodying the supreme power of the country and the legislative power in the name of national sovereignty, has decided the unconditioned and eternal union of Bucovina in its old frontiers of Ceremuș, Colacin and Nistru, with the Kingdom of Rumania.

In constituting, through this decree, the will of the General Congress of Bucovina, Your Majesty fulfils, also for Bucovina, the dearest wish of a whole nation and secures the foundations of Great Rumania ».

Along with this clear account, there appears, in the *Monitorul Oficial* no. 217 of December 19, the following Decree Law concerning the union of the Bucovina with the Old Kingdom of Rumania:

FERDINAND the I-st

By the grace of God and the will of the nation, King of Rumania,

To all those present now and in the future, greeting:

Concerning the report of our Council of Ministers no. 2.211 of 1918, taking into consideration the unanimous

will of the General Congress of Bucovina, in Cernăuți,
15/28 November 1918,

We ordain:

Art. I. — Bucovina, within its historical limits, is and remains for ever united to the Kingdom of Rumania.

Art. II. — The president of Our Council of Ministers is entrusted with the execution of this decree.

Made in Bucarest, on December 18, 1918.

FERDINAND

The Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Ion I. C. Brătianu.

No. 3.744.

On the same day the decree law for the administration of Bucovina appeared in the *Monitorul Oficial*. By virtue of this decree the laws and order remained the same as before. Under the guidance of a delegated minister, an administrative service was instituted for the management of Bucovina, which contained 9 secretaryships, for the interior, justice, finance, public instruction, church, public labour, industry, commerce, social assistance, agriculture, domains, alimentation and sanitation, having a chief secretary at head of each. The foreign affairs, the army, public safety, railways, post, telegraph and telephone, money circulation, custom-houses and public loans, were passed over to the central administrations of Bucarest.

In the Spring of 1919 the Peace Conference was assembled in Paris. Through the treaty of St. Germain, in August 1919, Austria renounced the article 59 of the treaty, in favour of Rumania, for all the rights and titles over

the duchy of Bucovina, the establishing of the frontiers being left to the principal allied and associated powers, which assembled in fact at the conference of July 2nd 1919 and drew a line which cut off a great part of the territory of Bucovina, namely the whole valley of the Ceremuș, for uniting it to Poland. The news about the settling of the historical frontiers of Bucovina provoked serious agitation among the population of that region. The population of the communes of Plosca, Sfâghieni, Putila, Dichkineț, Chisilițeni, Răstoace, Câmpulung on Ceremuș, Iablonița, Ciornohuz, Milie, Banila, Căscăuți and Carapciu, severely smitten in her own interests, sent immediate and energetic protestations to Paris *against the decision given by the territorial commission for breaking off a part of Bucovina*. They asked insistantly to remain under Rumanian rule, founding their demand on economical political, cultural and religious reasons, inasmuch as they, being orthodox christians, would jeopardize their old traditional faith if they became united to an unorthodox country or to one that had a greco-catholic church, as Galitia and Pocutia.

Here we reproduce one of these numerous protestations against the scission of a part of Bucovina, adressed to « His Excellency Mr. Clémenceau, president of the peace conference in Paris, and to His Excellency Mr. Tardieu, president of the territorial commission attached to the peace conference!

« Protestation.

Against the decision, which was given by the territorial commission, to cede a part of Bucovina in order that it should be attached to the Polish Republic,

We, the inhabitants of the village of Stăneștii-de-Jos, Bucovina, protest with all our might and energy against the unjustified intention of breaking us away from Moldavia as well as from the orthodox metropolitanate of Cernăuți and attaching us forcibly to the Polish Republic with which we have up till now had no relations of any kind and with which we do not wish to have any relations in future.

We beg you, Mr. President, to kindly take into consideration our determined attitude and will in this question. We solemnly declare that we wish to remain in a Bucovina that is united to Rumania, for we are attached to our country Bucovina through ancient traditions, through kinship and one single faith and nationality. We specially wish to remain obedient to the orthodox metropolitanate of Cernăuți for, if we were to be united to Poland we should form, there, a small group, a minority of orthodox confession and we should lose the higher dignitaries of our church, which would in time make us lose the laws of our ancestors.

Concerning the historical frontiers of our country to which we are bound through a past of hundreds of years, even the Austrian government has taken them into consideration and, in 1775, formed an administrative circle out of the territory that was taken from Moldavia. At the side of the other inhabitants of Bucovina we have led a hard struggle for maintaining our national existence and now that we are linked again to Rumania, are feeling extremely happy.

With this short but most important report, we refer to your Excellency, begging you to intervene for us with

the members of the territorial commission, insisting that they should revise their unjust resolution and let us be united to Rumania, so that the sorrowful act of 1775 should not happen again. Long live President Clémenceau! » (Following, the signatures of the peasants).

The protestation of the threatened region's population was energetically sustained at the peace conference in Paris by the delegates of Bucovina; and thus it found an answer in the heart of the territorial commission, which found it justified. The unanimous wish of the population of Bucovina was granted. In the peace treaty of Sèvres, art. 5, the Rumanian-Polish frontier along the Ceremuș, was established. Only five bucovinian villages namely Băbeni, Luca, Prelipcea, Zviniace and Crisceatic, remained in Poland, because of railway connections which crossed the territory of these places. But later on, this disadvantage was averted through an understanding between the Polish and Rumanian governments, founded on the protocole of the Commission for Polish-Rumanian delimitation, signed in Bucarest, January 26, 1926. Thus the union act of November 28, 1918, received international recognition through the peace treaties of St. Germain and Sèvres and through the protocole of the Rumanian-Polish Commission on January 26, 1926.

For the complete recognition of the union act there only remained one more formality to be accomplished and namely the ratification, by the Rumanian Parliament, of the decree of 1919. In the fall of 1919 this last formality was also accomplished, when the first Parliament of Great Rumania assembled in Bucarest. In this new Parliament Bucovina was represented by 40 delegates in the Cham-

bre of Deputies and 18 delegates at the Senate, all elected by secret and proportional universal vote. The reverend metropolitan of Bucovina, Vladimir Repta, was named president of the Senate.

The decree of December 18 was presented to the Senate on December 26 and to the Chambre of Deputies on December 29, 1919, for ratification, with the following account of motives signed by Alexander Vaida-Voevod, president of the Council of Ministers, and by Ion I. Nistor, minister-delegate for the administration of Bucovine:

« Bucovina is a part of Moldavia which, 144 years ago was stolen by the Habsburgs through intrigues and bribes.

During this long period of slavery the population of Bucovina did not lose for a moment its national conscience and the hope that sooner or later the hour of deliverance will strike.

Through undergoing nameless sufferings, humiliations and degradations, they avouched their right to being united to their brothers of the Rumanian Kingdom, to whom they were linked by the same origin, the same language and the same historical and cultural traditions.

But never have the sufferings of this population been greater or more crushing than during the last war during which the followers of Ștefan the Great's mighty archers were forced to fight on all battlefields, under the banner of their oppressors and for the triumph of a cause which was not theirs. The sacrifices and sufferings of those at the front were shared also by those who remained at home under the claw of the famous Fischer, head of the *gendarmérie*. But these sufferings of a severely tried people

could not stifle thier national conscience which the Bucovinian refugees on the front of Mărășești and the volunteers come from Russia, most forcibly asserted, in their firm decision to sacrifice themselves for the freedom of their country and for the fulfilment of the national ideal, dreamt of for centuries.

And the God of our forefathers made the just cause triumph. Through the unshaken valour of the Rumanian troops, the injustice of 1774 was wiped away.

On November 15/28, 1918, the General Congress of Bucovina was assembled in Cernăuți, embodying the supreme power of the country and possessed of legislative powers in the name of national sovereignty, and decided the unconditioned and eternal union of Bucovina in her old frontiers of Ceremuș, Colacin and Nistru, with the Rumanian Kingdom.

Through the decree No. 3.771 of December 18, 1918, His Majesty the King kindly consacrated the wish of the General Congress of Bucovina, thus fulfilling the dearest wish of a whole nation and securing at the same time the foundations of Great Rumania.

This decree has only to be ratified and endowed with legislative powers by the National Assembly's vote.

For this purpose we present the annexed paper ».

The Senate ratified the decree concerning the union of Bucovina with the Rumanian Kingdom, at the public sitting of December 26, 1919, unanimously and amid applause.

Immediately after voting the ratification, the law for the union of Bucovina with the Rumanian Kingdom was promulgated, through the High and Royal Decree No. 5.452,

FERDINAND the I-st

By the Grace of God and the will of the nation, King of Rumania,

To all those present now and in future, greeting:

The legislative powers have voted and adopted, and We sanction, what follows:

Law for the Union of Bucovina with the Old Kingdom of Rumania

Sole art. — It is ratified, endowing with legislative powers the decree No. 3.744 of December 17, 1918, concerning the union of Bucovina with the Old Kingdom of Rumania, with the following contents:

FERDINAND the I-st

By the Grace of God and the will of the Nation, King of Rumania,

To all those present now and in future, greeting:

Concerning the report of the Our Prime Minister No. 2.211, 1918,

Taking into consideration the unanimous decision of the General Congress of Bucovina in Cernăuți, on November 15/28, 1918,

We ordain:

Art. I. — Bucovina, within the limits of its historical frontiers is and remains eternally united to the Rumanian Kingdom.

Art. II. — The President of Our Council of Ministers is entrusted with the execution of this decree.

Made in Bucarest, December 18, 1918.

FERDINAND

The Prime Ministre, *Ion I. C. Brătianu*

This law was voted in the Assembly of Deputies, during the sitting of December 29, 1919, unanimously and amid applause.

President, (L. S. A. D.) *N. Iorga*

Secretary, *Balbescu*

We promulge this law and ordain that it should be invested with the Seal of the State and published in the *Monitorul Oficial*.

Made, in Bucarest, December 31, 1919.

FERDINAND

(L. S. N.).

The Prime Minister, *Dr. Alexander Vaida-Voevod*

Secretary of State entrusted with
the administration of Bucovina,

Dr. Ion I. Nistor

Minister of Justice ad-interim

Dr. Ștefan C. Pop

No. 5.452.

VIII. BUCOVINA UNDER RUMANIAN RULE

The union of Bucovina to its mother-country was effectuated during a time when the world, severely tried by the sufferings of a fierce war, was wishing for peace and quiet. Everyone understood the importance of the great political

act which prepared a wide and bright future for the entire Rumanian nation. The seed of distrust, which the Habsburg officials sowed, for a century and a half, in the tortured hearts of the Rumanians of Bucovina, towards everything that was Rumanian and especially towards the Rumanian State, its institutions and its political and cultural mission at the Mouths of the Danube, disappeared as by magic from the hearts of Bucovinians. Everyone understands today and appreciates the great work of civilization which the Rumanian State has accomplished in so short a time in Bucovina.

All the unreliable criticisms are now dumb, and today, after over 20 years of uninterrupted labour, we find, with great satisfaction, that all the inhabitants of this province, of all races and confessions, adhere to the Rumanian State with love and conviction, and appreciate for what they are worth, the efforts and pains the State takes for keeping up internal order and peace and for creating favourable conditions of cultural and economical development for all citizens alike.

All virtuous and smart men of Bucovina, with all their love and with all their spirit of sacrifice and patriotic self-denial have hurried to give their contribution for this work of organic annexation of Bucovina to the Rumanian State, to the general efforts of improvement of the economical and administrative state, in short, to general perseverance for the consolidation and strengthening of the united country. No voice of protest has ever risen from Bucovina against the new state of affairs, on the contrary, all, without any difference, have seen, in the fact of Bucovina's return to its mother-country, the amendment of the

historical injustice and the fulfilment of justified and well founded national revendications. The union act is one of general recognition of the fact that Bucovina, in its geographical situation, through its political and cultural traditions and through the unity of race of its native population, is a part of the whole territory of the Rumanian State and of the historical patrimony of the Rumanian nation.

Besides, this fact has been recognized by the political areopagus of the world, assembled at the Paris peace conference, which has considered as just and well founded, the rights of the Rumanians over the whole of Bucovina in its old limits, which were settled by moldavian bravery along the rivers Ceremuş and Nistru.

The population of Bucovina, without making any differences of race or faith, has recognized from the very first that her political, economical and cultural interests could not be better defended and served than within the limits of the Rumanian State. And this is truly said, because the hospitality and religious tolerance of the Rumanian native never manifested itself more than in Bucovina where all citizens live in peace and on good terms with one another, loving their country equally and contributing to its prosperity and development with their labour and thriftiness.

Rumanian rule has come to prove these sentiments and to continue their appliance in the largest way possible.

The laws which were promulgated after the Union embrace, with the same love and sense of justice, all good Rumanians. The great reforms, like the agrarian law, the law for the conversion of agriculture debts, the repair of

the regions destroyed by war, the erecting of churches, schools and all public institutions, the new laying out in the realm of administration and justice, were also undertaken with great love and care for the needs of all the population. All citizens have always taken part at the elections for the Legislative Body and have always asserted their political rights without any kind of restriction. And all political groups were always represented according to their number and importance, in the Legislative Body.

The new Rumanian Constitution of February 1938 gives the new Rumanian citizens greater rights and more freedom than the old «fundamental law of the State» of the Austrians in 1867. It puts an end to senseless political strife which destroyed the labour of the peaceful citizens and jeopardized the normal progress of national consolidation.

a) *Economical life*

The Union of Bucovina with Rumania has brought about, beside its great historical and national importance, a whole series of practical improvements for the good of the population, in supporting the peasantry through the agrarian reform and the conversion of agriculture debts and in giving a new swing to economical and industrial life, through including Bucovina within the wide and rich economical domain of Great Rumania.

After the Union, the economical outlets of Bucovina were widened as well as the political frontiers. The custom barriers towards Bessarabia and Moldavia disappeared as by magic, and so today Northern Bessarabia as well as the districts of Dorohoi, Botoşani and Baia have found the

centre of their economic life again, in Cernăuți, where traders and peasants from Dorohoi, Botoșani, Hotin and Bălți, and even from Soroca on the Nistru, meet, like in the good old times, on the market days or at fairs. The villagers of Bucovina can load their timber and cross the country to the farthest hamlets of moldavian or bessarian districts, and return with cereals, wool, skins, and other products of which there are not enough in Bucovina.

Beside the spiritual reconciliation and fraternization between the citizens, of the united provinces, we are now witnessing a new development of commercial relations through direct exchange of goods and products, like in the olden times.

Before the Union, Bucovina supplied itself with thousands of wagons of maize from the Old Kingdom, at the price of many difficulties of transport and custom. Nowadays the supplies can be got in far easier conditions. Through the Union Bucovina has considerably reduced the distance which separated her from the sea. Galați and Constanța are nearer than Trieste. Moreover the town of Cernăuți has had great advantages after the Union, for the old capital of Bucovina made great economical progress because of the enlarging of its outlet, and its situation on the road connecting Rumania with Warsaw, Berlin and Ostende.

Austrian rule has always disturbed the development of industry in Bucovina because the Austrians had and obvious interest in keeping this province as a market for their own products. Under Rumanian rule, a fine industrial activity began to develop in Bucovina which seeks markets for its products all over the country.

Immediately after the Union, the great piece of work of consolidation and establishing of Rumanian rule, began. There was much to do, for, after a four years' war and several Russian occupations, Bucovina had become deserted. The villages and towns where the austro-russian front had been were in a state of absolute ruin and only heaps of rubbish showed the places where households had been. The population coming back exhausted and weakened by Russian captivity or returning from the austrian front only found shelter in underground huts which were damp and dark, like in primitive times.

But even in the regions far away from the front, the Russian or Austro-Hungarian troops of occupation had taken everything away with them, even the ashes from the stoves. The schools and churches were for the greatest part ruined, the railways, roads and bridges were impracticable, the public services completely disorganized and out of working order. Supplying the population was nearly impossible. The taxes could not be collected. The widows and orphans were helpless. The circulation of money was reduced to a minimum. The public functionaries were without salaries so that public administration was forced to barrow money from private banks for covering the more urgent expenses. A state of agitation and insecurity was dominant everywhere and in some parts of Bucovina the calamities and wants led the population to violent and anarchic movements.

This was the situation of Bucovina which was returning to the bosom of her mother-country, completely disorganized and exhausted. And it was not an easy thing for Rumanian administration to take upon itself

such a difficult inheritance. Still, Rumanian administration, supported and advised by men who were competent and ready to every kind of sacrifice, showed itself capable of reorganizing a country in a state of absolute decay, of rebuilding it and raising it out of its state of misery, of guiding it, with energy and competence, on the road to prosperity.

b) *Rumanian Administration and the Agrarian Reform*

Through the decree that was issued for the administration of Bucovina, in December 1918, the public affairs were brought back to working order. Through this decree the administration of Bucovina was entrusted to a minister delegated by the Rumanian government and who exerted his administrative power through secretaries for the most important branches of administration.

In April 1920 the minister was replaced by a president of the regional commission of unification, who had to arrange regional services and pass over their prerogatives to the corresponding ministries in Bucarest.

In 1922 the work of administrative unification was at an end. It was done with much reflexion and care and without disturbing local interests. This work was done through written orders and ministerial decisions, respecting at the same time the old local laws of Bucovina. But as these laws no more answered the demands of a new manner of life, created through the union with Rumania, it was only natural that the Rumanian government should think of having a meeting of the Legislative Body for Great Rumania.

The old law for elections, of the Old Kingdom, could not be applied to the new situation. Still less could this law be extended over the new provinces. Therefore it was necessary to promulge a new law of elections, for the whole country. This was done in November 1919 when the first parliament of new Rumania met, and Bucovina had the honour of having her Metropolitan, the blessed Vladimir Repta, as president of the first Senate of Great Rumania, being the oldest in age.

During this time the Rumanian government was preoccupied by the agrarian problem which was actual also in Bucovina. Here, like in the other parts of the Rumanian State, the peasantry, for centuries oppressed and unjustly treated, was asking for land in order to improve its existence. Taking into consideration this legitimate demand, a decree of agrarian reform was issued, through which 561 landed properties with a surface of 75.798,52 hectares of cultivable land were expropriated and distributed to 76.911 peasants of Bucovina in plots reaching up to about 5 hectares.

But as the peasantry of Bucovina was overcome by debts the State had to intervene with a law for the conversion of agricultural debts. Through this law of conversion of 1934, Bucovina enjoyed a special regime, as their debts were reduced to 70 % and the payment of the rest of 30 % could be done in small instalments, in 17 years.

At the same time as this great work of social justice, other important things were done concerning the rebuilding of villages and towns destroyed by war, the reerection of churches and parish-houses, the rebuilding of schools that had been ruined during the war and the repair of

communication, hospitals and institutions for social assistance.

The repairs were going on rather slow because of the want of material resources, and the wants and calamities caused by the war were many and very difficult to satisfy. Still, the Rumanian government did not spare itself the work or expense, and came to help the population of Bucovina realising thus a work of repair and improvement in all directions, worthy of praise and gratitude.

At that period the operations of united legislation for the whole of Great Rumania were begun and brought to a succesful end. These operations were crowned by the voting and promulgation of the Constitution on March 20, 1923. Through the new Constitution Bucovina as well as the other provinces had come under the broad-minded and liberal regime of the Rumanian State. For the foundation of the new Constitution, other special laws were issued, like the law for culture, administrative law, the law for the organization of justice, and the law for instruction of all degrees. In February 1938, nearly the whole mass of Rumanian citizens voted, through a plebiscite, the new constitutional reform which had to be done to satisfy the demands of the present times.

c) *Culture*

Through the law of instruction a sound and definite solution was given for the church problem in Bucovina and for the problem of the church of this province. The bucovinian church was a part of the Metropolitanate of Moldavia and had its old seat in Rădăuți. When Bucovina

was incorporated to Austria the church was deprived of her canonical relations with the metropolitanate of Moldavia and came under the rule of the Servian patriarchy of Carlovitz. For scores of years the statesmen of Bucovina asked for the separation from the Servian patriarchy and for the bucovinian church to be united to the metropolitanate of Transylvania. But this demand was not taken into consideration by the Austrian government. Still, immediately after the proclamation of austro-hungarian dualism the government in Vienna consented to the creating of an orthodox metropolitanate and so the Metropolitanate of Bucovina and Dalmatia was created, in 1873, with an orthodox synod in Vienna. In this situation the church of Bucovina remained until the Union, when the Metropolitan Vladimir was brought back to his seat in Cernăuți, from where he had been sent away by the Austrians during the war, under the pretence that he had been unloyal towards the Austrian State.

After the Union the metropolitan of Bucovina became a member of the Holy Synod of the Rumanian Church. Likewise, the administration of the church funds which were formed out of the monastery and episcopal domains of Bucovina, was entrusted to the eparchial council, with the Metropolitan at their head. Under Austrian rule these properties were administered by the government in Vienna.

Through the new law of instruction the church of Bucovina received, its autonomy as well as the right to administrate her own properties and to elect her own officials. As to a representative body of the entire church of Bucovina, the eparchial assembly of Bucovina was created.

Through the new administrative law, Bucovina was divided into 5 districts with a juridical personality and a local administration.

Through the law for juridical organization Bucovina was given a Court of Appeal and three new Tribunals, beside the two existing since Austrian rule. The forming of a Court of Appeal in Cernăuți satisfied one of the most fervent wishes of the Bucovinians who, under Austrian rule had had no proper Court of their own but were subjected to the Court of Appeal from Lwow, capital of Galitia.

Rumanian rule would not have fulfilled its civilizing mission completely if it had not taken steps for the improvement of instruction and culture in the new province. To this end, all the degrees of instruction were organized and completed, and new buildings were erected and professional schools were built. For the preparation of the primary didactic body, a new normal school for girls was created in Cernăuți, beside the one for boys already existing under Austrian rule. In the line of secondary instruction, remarkable progress was realized in comparison to those of the Austrian period, as new gymnasiums and colleges were created beside those existing in the more important centres.

Likewise the University Carol the II-nd in Cernăuți was reorganized, and, from a german school that it was, became a Rumanian University and made a step forward in its scientific and cultural activity.

Moreover, a National Theatre and a Conservatorium for music and drama, were created in Cernăuți.

Under Austrian rule, the official language for teaching in all kinds of schools, was german. The language of the

native population forming a majority, that is to say Rumanian, was only allowed in a few rural schools and as an optional subject in some of the gymnasiums and public schools. In this way the Austrian government thought it fit to oblige the Rumanians to their way of thinking and feeling and to estrange them from their own national culture. Against these unfriendly aspirations the Rumanians fought continually, and they succeeded in keeping up their national conscience, solidarity and national ideals, which were in common with those of all their brothers of the Old Kingdom and all the other Rumanian provinces even under foreign rule. Through the union act, their struggle was crowned with the most brilliant success.

So we see that during these 20 years, which have glided past since the proclamation of the union act in Cernăuți, Bucovina has made herself worthy of the care and solicitude of a fatherly government. The Rumanian rule, in contrast to the foreign one, tried to awaken and cultivate the love and faith towards a new state of affairs and to realize progress and improvement in all realms of public life.

Through a good and honest government, through obeying the law through a permanent preoccupation of a national and cultural order and through the uninterrupted care for the guidance and encouragement of economical, commercial and industrial life; through the creating of chambres of agriculture, commerce, industry and labour, through encouraging and protecting manual labour, through the extension of credit and cooperation, real, great progress was realized. Therefore we find, with a feeling of deep gratitude, that 20 years of Rumanian rule in Bucovina

vina have been fruitful and that obvious progress was realized in all branches of public and private activity.

We pray to God that also in years come, this active balance should improve still more for the good of the citizens and the consolidation and prosperity of the Rumanian country.

In the midst of this atmosphere of work and creation, there fell over Bucovina, like a bolt from the blue, the ultimatum of the U. R. S. S., of June 26, 1940, demanding, under the threat of immediate military intervention, *«the transfer of a part of North Bucovina, whose population is attached to Sovietic Ukraine through a common historical destiny, through a community of language and national construction»*. While reading the note of the Sovietic ultimatum, one thought of the stretch of land situated between the rivers Prut and Nistru, with the towns of Cozmeni and Zastavna, inhabited by a majority of Ukrainians. This is what was meant by North Bucovina. But when it came to drawing the line of demarcation, the Soviets included in their «cordon» more than half of Bucovina with the towns of Cernăuți and Storojineț and 40 villages which, even according to the austrian statistics of 1910, have a purely Rumanian population. The line of demarcation drawn by the Sovietic troops also includes several villages of the Dorohoi district which belongs to the Old Kingdom of Rumania and has never belonged to Bucovina.

The towns and villages which are now occupied by the Soviet Union were never attached to Ukrain, either by *«a common historical destiny»* nor by *«a community of*

language and national construction ». Their occupation by the Soviet troops is not justified by the *ethnical principle*, either, because the Rumanian character of this population has been duly recognized by the austrian government. Being faced unexpectedly by this tragical situation, we find, with deep sorrow, that the diplomatic game of 1775 against Bucovina repeats itself; and we see the Rumanian territory, with its orthodox metropolitanate, its Rumanian University and other numerous social institutions, and all kinds of industrial installations, being occupied by the Soviet troops, for the purpose, shown in the ultimatum note, of indemnifying the Soviets for the material losses they are supposed to have suffered on account of Rumanian domination in Basarabia during the last 22 years. Seeing the historical facts unfolded in this writing, we are justified in believing that the line of demarcation, drawn by the troops of the Soviet Union in Bucovina is and remains liable for due rectifications.

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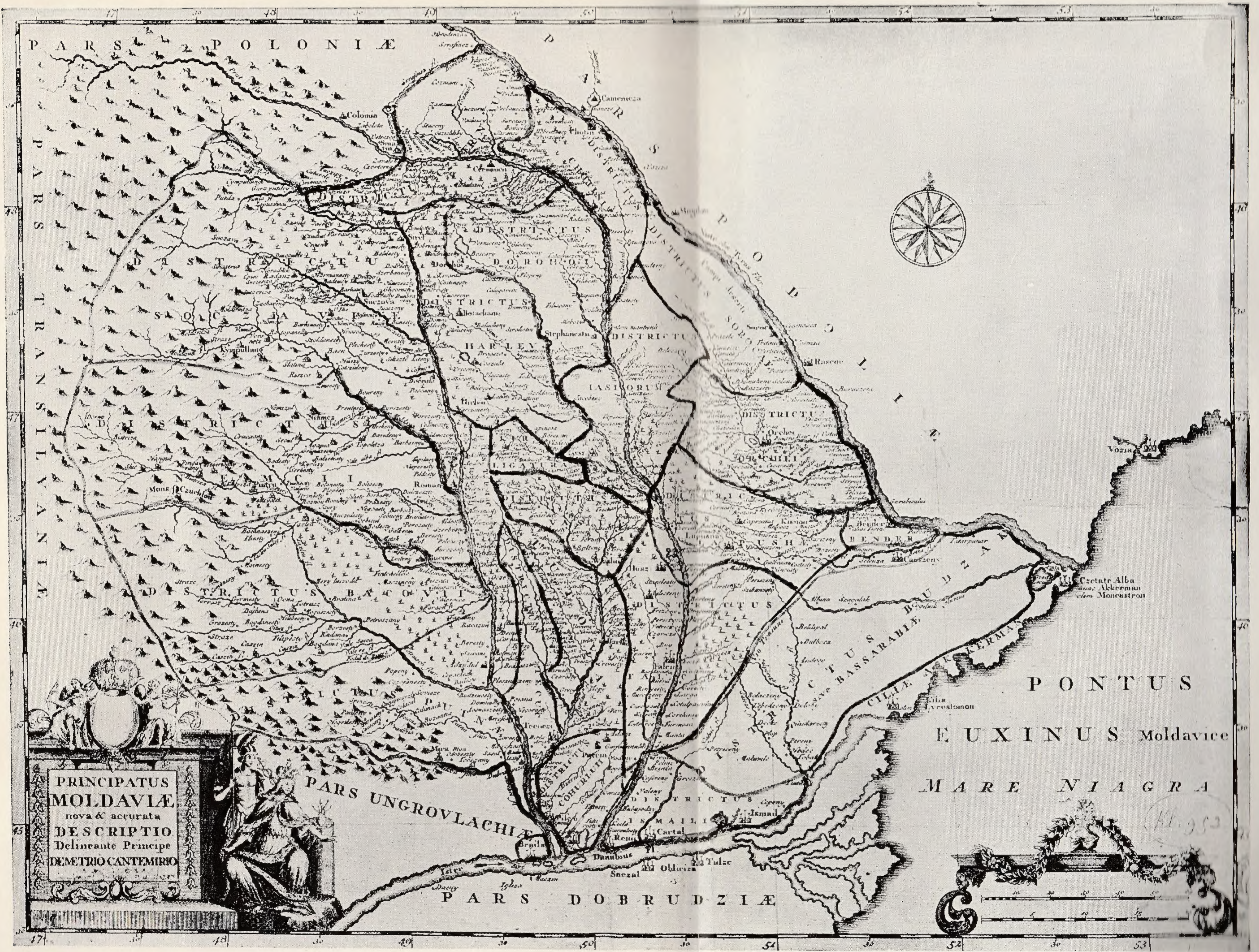
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